

Message Text

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44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 OIC-02

SAM-01 ERDA-05 OMB-01 BIB-01 /085 W
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P R 221755Z APR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2297

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 280

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USNMR SHAPE

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

USCINCLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2823

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: CBMS: PRELIMINARY SOVIET REACTION TO
ALLIED WORKING PAPER

1. AT INFORMAL MEETING OF CBM SUB-COMMITTEE APRIL 21,
ITALIAN REP TABLED WORKING PAPER (TEXT GIVEN BELOW) WHICH
PUT IN WRITTEN FORM THOSE "ELEMENTS" THAT BRITISH REP
HAD DESCRIBED AT PREVIOUS MEETING AS ESSENTIAL FOR AN
ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT FOR
NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS. ALLIES HAD AGREED AT CAUCUS
FOLLOWING THAT EARLIER MEETING THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE
TACTICALLY TO HAVE SUCH A WESTERN TEXT ON THE TABLE
AS A STARTER FOR THE SUB-COMMITTEE'S INFORMAL DRAFTING
WORK CONCERNING THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS".

2. TEXT TABLED WAS LARGELY WORK OF ITALIAN, FRENCH,
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UK AND FRG DELS. IT PICKS UP THE UK "ELEMENTS" IN

THREE PREAMBULAR-TYPE SENTENCES. THESE LEAD UP TO A SENTENCE WHICH ESSENTIALLY REITERATES THE STANDARD FORMULA FOR THE COMMITMENT THAT OUR ALLIES HAVE FAVORED FOR SEVERAL YEARS. (AT CAUCUS, US REP REMINDED ALLIES OF OUR LONGSTANDING PROBLEMS WITH THIS FORMULA.) THE TEXT AVOIDS USE OF THE TERM "VOLUNTARY BASIS" BUT CONTAINS OTHER PHRASES (E.G. "INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STATE" IN SECOND SENTENCE AND "ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY" IN LAST SENTENCE) WHICH ARE INTENDED AS BOWS TOWARDS THE SOVIETS. IN DECIDING TO TABLE TEXT AT INFORMAL MEETING, ALLIES ANTICIPATED THAT IT MIGHT PROMPT DRASTIC SOVIET AMENDMENTS BUT ALSO HOPED THAT EAST-WEST EXCHANGES ON THE TEXT MIGHT EVENTUALLY MAKE IT CLEARER WHETHER SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOME MORE WIDELY ACCEPTABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS."

3. PRELIMINARY SOVIET REACTION (MENDELEVITCH) WAS THAT TEXT HAD "INTERESTING", EVEN "USEFUL" ASPECTS, BUT THAT IT CONTAINED NO REFERENCE TO CONCEPT OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS", AND WAS THEREFORE NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TO PARALLEL PROGRESS ON CBM PARAMETERS. ALLIED EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN THAT TEXT WAS INTENDED TO REFLECT IDEA OF VOLUNTARINESS FAILED TO BUDGE SOVIETS FROM IMPLYING (WITHOUT HOWEVER DIRECTLY SAYING SO) THAT PHRASE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" SHOULD APPEAR IN TEXT. THUS, SOVIETS SEEMED REMAIN UNPERSUADED BY EXPLANATIONS OFFERED BY UK, DUTCH, ITALIANS, AND SEVERAL OTHER DELEGATIONS WHY PHRASE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" WAS AMBIGUOUS AND POSED PROBLEMS, AND GAVE NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO THEIR VIEW THAT IT WAS THEREFORE BEST TO NEGOTIATE, IN TANDEM WITH PARAMETERS, TOWARD A TEXT ADEQUATELY REFLECTING "VOLUNTARY" CONCEPT. IN END, SOVIETS LEFT IT UNCLEAR WHETHER THEY WOULD OFFER COUNTER DRAFT.

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ITALIAN WORKING PAPER:

BEGIN TEXT: EMPHASIZE THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY IN EUROPE:

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RECOGNIZE THE INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STATE IN THE REALISATION OF THEIR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE THROUGH PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES;

EXPRESS THEIR CONVICTION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS MEASURE IN FULL ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACCEPTED CRITERIA

AND MODALITIES, IS INDISPENSABLE FOR THE REALISATION
OF THIS OBJECTIVE;

HAVE THUS DECIDED IN ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR POLITICAL
RESPONSIBILITY, TO NOTIFY MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES
ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS: END TEXT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CBMS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, ALLIANCE, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, MILITARY POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA02823
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750141-0037
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750429/aaaabben.tel
Line Count: 122
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: CBMS: PRELIMINARY SOVIET REACTION TO ALLIED WORKING PAPER
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006